

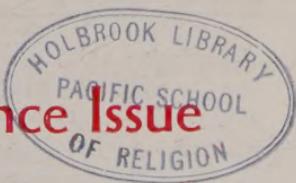
SOCIAL ACTION

APRIL 15, 1945

*Beyond Chaos –
World Order?*



San Francisco Conference Issue



SOCIAL ACTION Magazine

LISTON POPE, *Editor*

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The Church in the Highlands

(CONGREGATIONAL)
BRYANT AND LONGVIEW AVENUES
WHITE PLAINS, N.Y.

MARJORIE D. CURTIS
DIRECTOR OF RELIGIOUS EDUCATION

April 1, 1945

ARTHUR STANLEY WHEELOCK
MINISTER

AN OPEN LETTER TO MY SENATORS:

My dear Senator:

On Sunday, May 27th, the Church of which I am the minister is planning to hold a Memorial Service for the men and women of the Church who have already died in the present war. At the same time we will dedicate a new Honor Roll containing the names of the 164 men and women of the Church who are now in the Armed forces of our country. It should be a most impressive occasion and in connection with it, I shall speak briefly on the subject, "That our dead shall not have died in vain."

This theme seems to me to sum up the solemn issue that confronts the people of the United States at this critical hour in history. And I am writing to you now because I would like your help in preparing for this address. It would help me immeasurably, if you could give me a personal statement that I could use, telling of your willingness to support a statement that I American participation in the forthcoming United Nations organization.

For many months thousands of men and women in the Congregational Christian Churches of America have been meeting in little study groups discussing the problems of the coming peace. Last February study packets were sent to every one of our Churches, including material about Dumbarton Oaks. It is my conviction that the Church people of this country are terribly concerned lest once more "our dead shall have died in vain." For, just as after the last war, there is danger now that a reaction may set in and that in the heat of political discussion, men shall lose sight of the real issue at stake. That issue, in my judgment, is that American participation in any proposed World Organization is absolutely essential for its success, and that ratification by the Senate of the United Nations Charter (once it is completed) is therefore imperative.

I am a veteran of the first World War. It has always seemed to me that it was a great tragedy that the United States refused to accept its share of responsibility toward world order when that war ended. If apathy or partisanship, or selfishness, gain the upper hand, and this country once more withdraws its support of a world organization for security and peace, then the race of man may inevitably go down to its universal doom.

I am confident that you share this feeling and hope that

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You will be willing to give me a clear and vigorous statement of your willingness not only to take a personal part in the Senate debate, but to support and vote for American participation in the United Nations Organization when the final plan is presented to the United States Senate for ratification.

In a few months the great decision will be made. Either we will march forward to build a world of law and order or we shall go back to the old ways of madness that will produce another and more terrible war. I am confident that you will use your great influence to secure American support of world organization, and I await your reply with eager anticipation.

Sincerely yours,

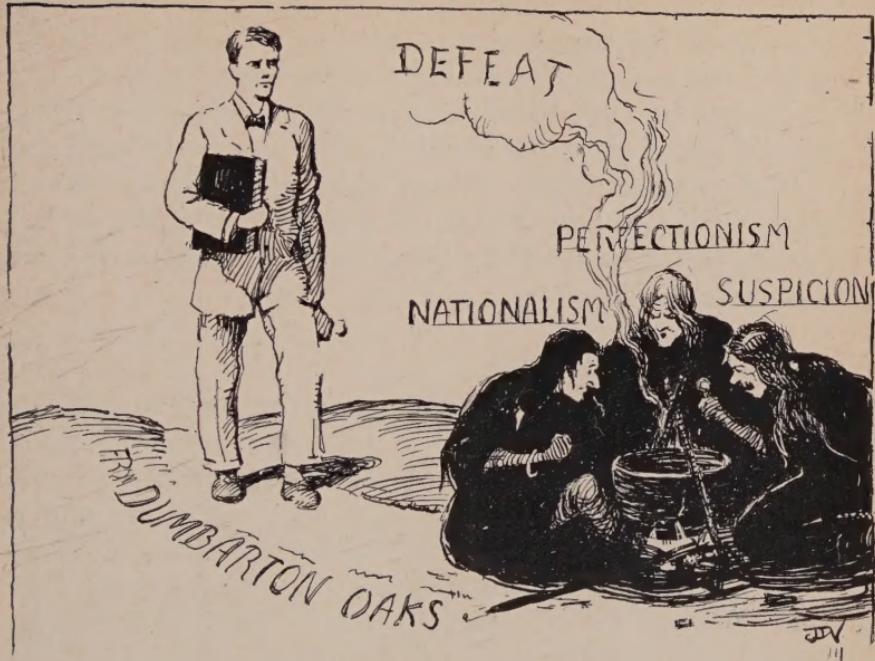
Arthur S. Wheelock

ARTHUR S. WHEELOCK
Chairman

International Relations Committee
Council for Social Action of the
Congregational Christian Churches

"With All Its Imperfections..."

by WILLIAM T. R. FOX*



Who Blocks the Road To Peace?

Men of good will have generally agreed that it is their duty to "study, strengthen, and support" the plan for a general security organization "with all its imperfections." They will support the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals in whatever form they emerge from the San Francisco Conference, for they believe that half a loaf is preferable to no bread at all.

In the opposition camp will be found two groups neither of which believes that it has anything in common with the other. There is first of all the isolationist contingent. Isolationism has become such a term of opprobrium that nobody

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these days calls himself an isolationist. But the isolationist will be found masquerading in a variety of ingenious disguises. He is "an American nationalist." He is "a Pacific Firster"; until recently he believed that Franklin Roosevelt was sending supplies to Europe that rightfully should have gone to General MacArthur. He is doing all he can do to break up the grand coalition against Hitler, although he doesn't know whether to be more scared of the Red menace or of the machinations of British imperialism. Finally, he denounces the "return to power politics."

Opposition from Utopians

Also opposed to Dumbarton Oaks is the utopian internationalist. Nobody these days calls himself a utopian, but a member of this group opposes the Dumbarton Oaks scheme because it seems to him a hypocritical cloak for three-power dictatorship of the world. He fears that secret decisions of which he would disapprove may have been agreed upon at Moscow or Teheran or Yalta. He is profoundly disturbed by the idea that a great power should sit as a judge in its own case. The insistence of certain great powers that force is to be used to insure compliance with the decisions of the Security Council only when each of the Big Five agrees seems to him inexcusable. He may even suspect that the great powers, and especially the Soviet Union, have nefarious designs on their small neighbors. In short, he too denounces the Dumbarton Oaks proposals as a sell-out to Soviet imperialism in Europe and to British imperialism in the rest of the world. He too believes that, as so often before, Uncle Sam came home in a barrel from the international poker game at Yalta. He too bemoans the "return to power politics."

When the great debate on American entrance into a world security organization takes place in the United States Senate, representatives of both these groups will rise to say that they are all for *an* international organization, that it is just *this* international organization to which they are opposed. And they

will chorus in unison that this organization will permit a "return to power politics," that our partners across the water are again selfishly trying to run the world in their own interests, that ideals are being subordinated to interests and principles sacrificed to expediency, and finally that we are better outside than inside an organization based on hypocrisy and bad faith.

What answer can those who have decided "to study, strengthen, and (albeit reluctantly) support" give? Are they merely to stand up and say that while this is not the whole loaf, and may in fact only be a dry, thin piece of crust, still it is bread? If this is all they have to say, they will very probably lose out entirely. Responsible citizens have as deep an obligation to discover and to point out the virtues of the Dumbarton Oaks proposals as to discover and to point out the vices. Assuredly, the scheme is not perfect; the plans of men



American delegation to the San Francisco conference: (l. to r.) Sol Bloom, Virginia Gildersleeve, Tom Connally, Edward R. Stettinius, Harold A. Stassen, Arthur H. Vandenberg, and Charles A. Eaton.

rarely are. It is, however, sensible. It does provide an answer to some questions and it deserves wholehearted support.

A Return to Power Politics?

It is not necessary to concede that the proposed general security organization permits a return to power politics. "Power politics," according to President Roosevelt, is misuse of power. In so defining power politics, he made a useful and a necessary distinction between the proper use of power and its misuse.

How can we speak of a "return" to power politics? Is it a misuse of power to encompass Hitler's defeat by combining the power of three great nations and a large number of smaller nations? Before we accept the validity of any particular criticism of the proposed postwar organization, we ought to open our eyes to the facts of international life.

Unless the United States, Great Britain, and the Soviet Union are simultaneously prepared at the moment of final victory to see created a world organization with armed force *directly* at its disposal strong enough to coerce any power, including those three, the enforcement of peace will depend upon the *voluntary* cooperation of those three to support the decisions of the Security Council. If an attempt were made to use the organization to coerce one of the Big Three, it could only result in the war which the organization was ostensibly created to avoid. What then becomes of all the talk about the scheme being imperfect because it permits a judge to sit in his own case?

The Voting Formula

There is welcome news from Yalta that *recommendations* of the Security Council—proposals for settling a dispute as opposed to measures involving the use of force—do not require the vote of each of the five permanent members of the Council. This permits the organization to be used to focus world opinion upon any transgressor whatever his size, but it does not commit the organization to attempt the impossible.

Those who denounce the present proposals because they

permit a great power to take liberties with its neighbors which are forbidden to a small power do not generally have in mind the United States or Great Britain or France or China. They are thinking of the Soviet Union. What they really regret, therefore, is that the proposed organization cannot be transformed into a grand anti-Soviet coalition.

Those who are sincerely apprehensive about future Soviet expansion need not be concerned over the maintenance of the unanimity rule in the vote to use force. A Soviet Union which had gone berserk would inevitably find itself confronted by the very coalition which the critics of Dumbarton Oaks wished to achieve through the general international organization. A lawless aspirant for world hegemony could not make less likely the formation of a grand coalition against him by tinker-



President Roosevelt interviews a Russian soldier with Molotov during the conference at Yalta.

ing with the Security Council voting procedure. Neither could opponents of the Yalta formula for voting when force is to be used make more likely the formation of such a coalition by striking out the unanimity requirement. On analysis, therefore, controversy over the special position of the great powers turns on a matter which is not of great practical importance.

It is of tremendous importance nevertheless that this dispute shall not endanger good relations between the Soviet Union and the United States. Since effective international organization to preserve the peace depends in our time on voluntary cooperation and mutual confidence among the strong, we should cease talking about the injustice of a judge sitting in his own case and instead ask: *What type of international organization provides the best framework for enduring voluntary collaboration among those powers which are inevitably to be charged with the greatest responsibilities for maintaining peace?* A voting formula which emphasized the distrust which some of the great power members had for some of the others would not provide such a framework. It would in fact make less likely the frank interchange of military information in advance of crisis among the chiefs of staff of the Permanent Members of the Security Council.

Cynics will argue that, because the world security organization cannot coerce a great power, and because important wars are always started by great powers, the organization is a fraud unworthy of being dignified by American participation. The voting formula agreed upon at Yalta does not, it must be admitted, insure a just and peaceful settlement of disputes among the great powers. It will still require great tact and good will on both sides to preserve the ties which now bind the anti-fascist powers together. General peace depends largely on Soviet and American success in these matters. But it is no fair criticism of the Dumbarton Oaks proposals that they do not solve all problems in foreign policy simultaneously.

What precisely can an international organization of the type now under debate do?

(1) It can focus world opinion on an aggressor, even a great power aggressor. For a great power cannot by its own vote prevent a searching investigation and thorough debate of actions as are alleged to constitute a threat to peace. Nor can a great power by its own vote prevent a Security Council vote on what would be an equitable settlement of a dispute to which it is a party. Even great nations will be anxious not to see themselves condemned at the bar of free world opinion.

(2) It can provide a way of dealing collectively and justly with lesser disturbers of the peace. If there is no agreement upon international procedure to determine the merits of a dispute involving the smaller nations, there is great likelihood that because of power calculations the great powers will find themselves divided. Furthermore, so long as Germany and Japan remain disarmed, they will be lesser powers which can be dealt with through the organization. This is very important, for there are no other powers, except the permanent members of the Security Council, which could even potentially be classed as major disturbers of the peace. If these two powers can be controlled collectively through the organization, there is small likelihood that the Western powers and the Soviet Union could have a falling out leading to war. Note, however, that if Germany and Japan are permitted to rearm before they establish themselves as "peace-loving nations," they could not be checked by the organization without plunging the world into a third general war.

(3) It can symbolize America's determination to fulfill responsibilities toward the maintenance of peace proportionate to its capacity. America's power should, as Wendell Willkie said of America's sovereignty, be "used, not hoarded." It is, however, against our tradition to bind ourselves in special alliance to use that power. An exclusive Anglo-American-Soviet-Chinese-French alliance would therefore be distasteful to many Americans. A commitment to join the other great powers in an organization dedicated to suppressing cer-

tain kinds of injustice permits the coalition which is winning the war to operate together to maintain the peace.

"With all its imperfections," and these imperfections are not so numerous or as easily eliminated as the phrase implies, the Dumbarton Oaks proposal deserves the support of responsible Americans. International organization cannot by itself guarantee permanent peace. It will still be necessary for men in the next generation to choose wise leaders who can fashion a peace so durable that their successors in succeeding generations can make it more durable. But joining the world security organization is the first step. The time to take that step is now.

Isolationist Strategy in the Senate

1905

Senate defeats, by adding crippling amendments, the treaties negotiated by Secretary Hay for submitting certain disputes to the Hague Court for International Arbitration.

1911

By adding nullifying resolutions, Senate defeats arbitration treaties negotiated with Britain and France by President Taft and Secretary Knox.

1919-20

Senate rejects Versailles Treaty, including Covenant of League of Nations, by reservations and amendments which pro-League Senators could not support.

1923-32

Senate delays, then amends, and finally drops ratification of World Court.

Following the San Francisco Conference, what will happen to the United Nations Organization, when Senate debate begins?

A two-thirds majority of Senators must approve the Charter, to commit the United States to membership. CAN WE GET TWO-THIRDS OF OUR SENATORS

TO RATIFY THIS TREATY,
AND WITHOUT RESERVA-
TIONS?

Since the isolationists, this time, may fail to defeat ratification of the Charter, they will no doubt seek to limit the effectiveness of American participation. Their strategy here will be to defeat, or rather, "to approve with reservations," the later agreements which have to do with the power of the American delegate on the Security Council, or the provision of armed forces for Security Council use.

WE MUST KEEP PREPARED
TO EXPRESS OUR CONVI-
CTIONS.



Christian Responsibilities and American Power

by VERNON H. HOLLOWAY*



Against the background of burning cathedrals and levelled cities, man plants a small oak—symbol to artist John D. Whiting of the Dumbarton Oaks blueprint of a world organization to keep the peace.

Our society is now involved in the difficult problem of preparation for peace in time of war. The Christian churches are concerned in this task, not only because their members are involved as citizens, but primarily because of their mission as

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the Church of Christ. To understand this mission, it is instructive to read from a recent report of Christian scholars:*

The Church and its gospel must be at every moment in the midst of human history and beyond it.

This means that to every historic situation, the Church has a dual word to speak. On the one hand, it must try to bring clearly into view the distinctive character of each new situation. . . . The Church must try to speak directly to the actual needs of each new time. On the other hand, it must try to hold clearly before every age, with changing detailed insights but with steady central conviction, what Christian faith believes to be abiding truth concerning God and man, sin and salvation. . . .

These two phases of its preaching and teaching involve a third. From the effort thus to apprehend a new situation in the light of an abiding faith, specific guiding judgments should emerge that illuminate Christian action.

The Cleveland Study Conference

At Cleveland, Ohio, in late January, there was held a National Study Conference on "The Churches and a Just and Durable Peace." It was an earnest, collective endeavor by Protestants to relate their faith to the contemporary situation, with special reference to Christian responsibilities for a more durable peace. Its message indicates that the churches are achieving a more mature understanding of international and domestic problems, which may enable them to fulfill more adequately than in recent years their historic social role: the provision of a conscience which is grounded in God and is relevant to the needs of society and state.

Two reasons may be cited for this judgment. There was considerable self-criticism voiced in the discussions: an awareness that "the world" (of nationalism, racialism, and social-economic division) had left its mark upon the churches. There also was a united attempt to relate Protestant faith and ideals

**The Relation of the Church to the War in the Light of the Christian Faith*, prepared by a special commission of Christian scholars, December 1944 issue of *Social Action*, pp. 7-8.

to some of the concrete political problems which confront our society.

Now Is the Time

Postwar patterns of world organization, upon which the welfare of many millions of people rests, are taking shape day by day in political decisions and formulations of public policy. International relations with respect to food and agriculture, relief, aviation, education, finance and trade, and the achievement of peace and security, are being defined in public debate and political bargaining. In church circles we need to be aware of this, and to help our people understand the meaning and importance of these developments.

American interests and commitments abroad have been far more in the nature of economics than politics. But as a clever person remarked at the Cleveland Conference: "We can't see Bretton Woods for Dumbarton Oaks." It is significant that in the most powerful industrial nation in the world, where pride is taken in our economic ability, we are unable to comprehend the importance of our economic behavior for the stability of international life. The Bretton Woods Agreements for an international bank and monetary fund may well be regarded as an integral part of the over-all approach to international organization and welfare, but the objections of a few strongly entrenched groups may carry undue weight when our Congress takes action in the very near future.

The immaturity of public opinion in the United States, its inability to recognize and undertake the responsibilities which should accompany American power, is a critical problem for which our churches are partially to blame. They too have shared in the American tendency to indulge in an idealism which is not sufficiently self-critical or relevant to the actual world, and which has often been a source of confusion in its impact upon public life.

Two Types of Idealism

One might suggest that there are two types of idealism, and

that we have had too much of the first. There is a lofty idealism which is highly irresponsible, since it is inclined to scorn all policies which do not incorporate certain ideals and thereby permit the doer to be "right." There is another kind of idealism which, in its awareness of values and of facts, is willing to include consideration and responsibility for the *consequences* of its conduct.

These conflicting types of ethics are displayed in the different attitudes which Christians in the United States are taking toward the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals. Both types were in evidence in the discussions at Cleveland. Some people demand that political policies be "righteous," and in conformity with their personal preferences. They abhor "compromise." There are other people, equally concerned about ideals, who realize the limitation of politics, and who know that compromises are inevitable—especially in international "collective bargaining." These persons are resolved to be critical but *also* to support and to use the best achievements which politics (and thereby compromise) permit.

The words of the Cleveland statement on Dumbarton Oaks are rather ambiguous at this point. They urge both support and amendment, and make concrete proposals for the latter. This is proper enough as far as it goes. But it does not adequately meet the practical situation where the real controversy will be on the question of American participation. The ambiguous nature of this statement is revealed by the conflicting interpretations which have been rendered in the religious press, including reports by persons who attended the Conference. The central issue is this: Is Christian support of United States participation in the proposed organization *conditional* upon the ability of the United Nations to make several amendments, and certain specified additions, to the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals?

It is probably fair to state that the majority of the Cleveland delegates are prepared to urge that the United States shall

become a member of the new United Nations organization, with or without improvements specified at Cleveland. For a substantial minority, however, this is not the case. The *Christian Century*, which previously had referred to Dumbarton Oaks as futile and unworthy of attention at Cleveland came out with a post-conference editorial which sought to maintain that the Cleveland statement's "support" of Dumbarton Oaks "was not unconditional," and was to be taken only in connection with the reference to amendments.

The Idealist Critics of Dumbarton Oaks

From recent articles in the religious press we note the following arguments which are used by Christian idealists who scorn the "Oaks" proposals: The new plan may be equated with "chaos," and "only aggravates the situation." It must be condemned "because five nations will have dominant power." It must be opposed by the Christian conscience "because it does not reflect righteousness, democracy, and true world government," because it "only perpetuates power politics, does not guarantee justice and peace, and causes the small nations to tremble before the specter of a big-power alliance."



Three bewildered, captured German soldiers. Can America's religious faith gain for the vanquished not just a punitive but a redemptive post-war treatment?

What do these gentlemen propose as the alternative? In the articles referred to above, no alternatives are proposed except the negative one: that Christians should disavow such compromises. Of course, two of these writers also say: "We must not be international defeatists, our great task is to be realistic."

Politics and the Christian Conscience

The question which we all must face is that of the meaning of a genuine idealism or realism in a world of stubborn facts and limited choices—as, for example, in the realm of politics, where the struggle for power appears to be one of the constant, underlying factors. Much of our contemporary religious thought has been one-sided. Our idealism has been of the kind which can only criticize the injustices which flow from the use of power, without enabling us to fashion or to support those policies which are designed to hold power within limits and to employ it on behalf of the widest possible community of interests which the historical situation permits.

It is futile to condemn "power-politics" (the wielding of power without conscience) unless those who do have a conscience are willing to support policies which seek to use power constructively. In contemporary international politics, it is useless to bemoan the fact that a few nations have preponderant power, and it is highly irresponsible and socially destructive to scorn political proposals which at least provide a limited means of balancing the self-interests of the powerful and making them somewhat amenable to the moral pressures of the weak.

Caesar Is Not God

Human reason and human conscience do not by themselves provide the basis of political order. If, in our time, a few great nations have developed and expanded their power, that power must become the basis upon which we work together for the greatest possible approximation of order and justice. It is

therefore absurd to equate Dumbarton Oaks with "chaos," or to oppose these plans because "they do not reflect righteousness and true world government." We are not better servants of God when we condemn Caesar because the latter does not have the wisdom and holiness of God. The Christian political conscience must be one which, because it is grounded in God, is able to acknowledge the *limitations* within which "the things of Caesar" (the collective egoism and will-to-power of human nature) are forced to operate. By recognizing that Caesar is not God, we are better able to be critical and constructive *within* the compromises which inevitably follow from the use of power.

The criticism of Dumbarton Oaks, that it "causes the small nations to tremble before the specter of a big-power alliance," is a half-truth. It is important to be aware of this part of the truth, but it is also important to recognize that one of the greatest threats to the well-being of the weaker nations is the possibility of a conflict between the great ones. A great-power conflict, resulting in war, would inevitably include most of the smaller nations.

It is this kind of pragmatic reasoning which must necessarily be combined with our loyalty to ideals, when we seek to determine the nature of our duties in a given historic situation. To the idealist who objects that we are betraying Christianity to "power politics and expediency," we reply that it is Christian motivation which enables us to stand "in between our ideals and the world as it is" rather than to flee from what appears to be our duty. If it is a sin to compromise with pure ideals in order to shoulder the burdens of the world, then it becomes our duty—as one of the Protestant Reformers put it—"to sin bravely."

Power Entails Responsibility

Since a world government, or super-state, is beyond achievement in our time, one of the virtues of Dumbarton Oaks is its

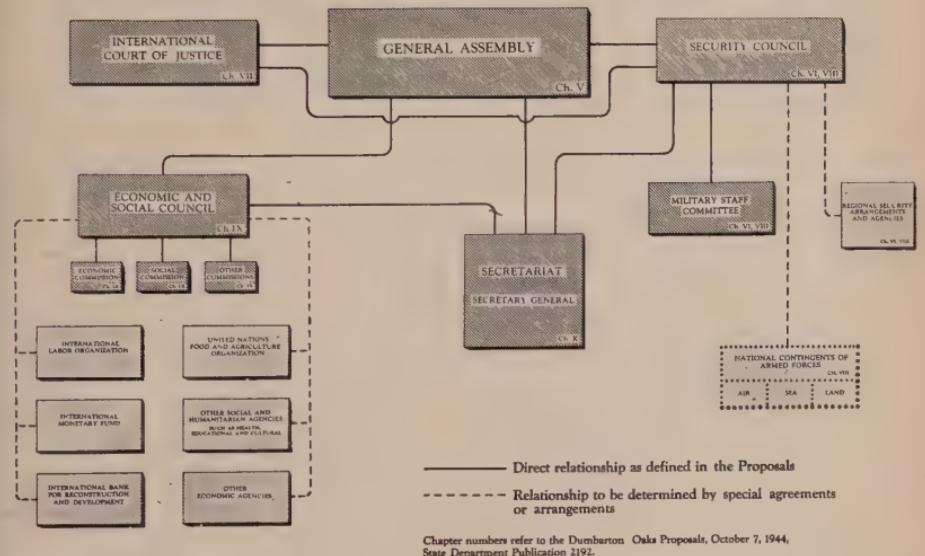
provision of a framework within which the few great powers will be committed to voluntary cooperation, with the organization and the procedures being such that these powers will find it difficult to operate purely in terms of a narrow self-interest. In the affairs of both the Security Council and the Assembly, these great powers cannot function without some acknowledgement of their mutual interests, or without at least a limited provision for the needs and interests of the less powerful nations. This is obviously no guarantee of justice or peace. Its significance lies chiefly in the fact that it places greatest responsibility upon the shoulders of the most powerful, while providing an instrument and an opportunity whereby the self-interest of competing nations can be made more enlightened. This in turn places a great responsibility upon the *public opinion* of the member-nations, especially within the great powers.

These are among the reasons which lead us to conclude that the "Oaks" proposals, with or without improvements, deserve the support of those who are concerned about the destiny of their nation and of the larger society to which it belongs. It can hardly be expected that the United Nations Conference at San Francisco, in April and May, can change in any basic way the proposals which are now in the hands of the delegates. The big powers, which issued the invitations to the Conference, hold in their hands the strength which will make or break the effectiveness of the plan which they have already endorsed. Their power and their united strength provide the minimum basis for any international organization in the near future.

Christian Responsibilities in the United States

If Christians must now seek anew to combine idealism with realism in their social analysis and action, then it is imperative that Christians in the United States be especially critical of their own nation, and determine their responsibilities accordingly.

THE UNITED NATIONS
 DUMBARTON OAKS PROPOSALS FOR
 THE GENERAL INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION



Prepared by the Division of International Security and Organization,
 and the Division of Geography and Cartography, Department of State.

Diagram of the Dumbarton Oaks proposals for general international organization.

What do we mean by the charge that American idealism has failed to be realistic and self-critical? We mean, for example, that American pulpits, public opinion, and foreign policy have shared a tendency to criticize the politics of other nations without taking into account the responsibilities which we ourselves have shirked.

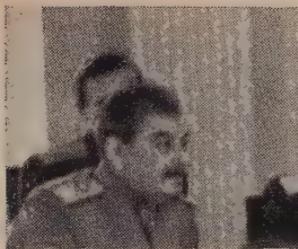
In recent months we have demanded of Britain and Russia that they forsake their security interests in Poland and Greece and either achieve ideal solutions now or else postpone these settlements. But what have we done to further the collective security of British, Russian, and European interests? We have acted as if we were involved in military operations only, with no responsibility for their political or other consequences. This is a "hangover" from our isolationist political heritage.

American Hypocrisy and Adolescence

It is our Christian obligation to help our nation understand the hypocrisy and self-righteousness which infect its attitudes toward European and other peoples. The virtues which we have upheld in our rejection of "foreign entanglements" and in our scorn of "power politics abroad" are the qualities which have been relatively easy for us to display, because of the geographical and historical factors which distinguish our history. Having gained all the territory which we needed on this continent, we have not been concerned with boundary problems as are the European nations. Our national traditions are still inclined to reflect the relative security which we were able to enjoy during the 19th century—a security which was caused in part by geography, but which was strengthened by the support of British foreign policy. In contrast with Britain, Russia, and Europe, our national memory is not conditioned by recurrent fears for security against a foreign power. Even our experience in the two great wars of the 20th century has been radically different from that of these other peoples, since the fighting has not been done on our soil.

We should conclude that much of our American "idealism" is a reflection, not of moral superiority, but of national adolescence. In our military strength and world influence we have recently become one of the few great powers, but the mentality which accompanies this strength is immature. We are only beginning to understand the responsibilities which our position involves.

The debate within the United States over Dumbarton Oaks, in which *idealists* and *isolationists* are opposing the proposed organization, may properly be called a *struggle between adolescence and maturity in American public opinion*. Our involvement in two world wars within a quarter-century renders our isolationist tradition absurd. But in spite of the international relations in which our power is now involved, there is grave danger that we will retain an adolescent mentality which will tempt us to renounce our new responsibilities.



"In contrast with Russia . . . , our national memory is not conditioned by recurrent fears for security against a foreign power."

The Church and the Nation

A new mood is growing within the churches. We are beginning to realize that not only Christian individuals in their respective callings, but the *churches* themselves, have new opportunities and obligations. Insofar as tragic events have driven us to realize anew the sovereignty of God's claims, we may be able to contribute to the problem of the competing sovereignties of national states. As churches which seek to be the living Church, we can help our own nation to achieve a greater sense of its responsibilities in the society of nations.

No individual and no church can wisely claim finality for what now seems to be the right road. But it is best in any case to state what we believe to be right, and to follow our convictions through to action, in order that they may be verified or corrected by the impacts of the world in which actual living has to be done.

It is in this spirit that the Council for Social Action, of the Congregational Christian Churches, has proposed to the churches of its fellowship that they practice now the principles to which they subscribed in the World Order Compact of 1944.

With respect to the forthcoming United Nations security organization, which the United States Senate (in June or shortly thereafter) will accept or reject,* the Council has pro-

*Acceptance with reservations is a third but highly dangerous possibility. This is the strategy which the defeatists will seek to use.

posed to the churches a campaign to *study, support, and strengthen* the proposals. We cannot place a "halo" around Dumbarton Oaks or whatever emerges in the final plans, but we sincerely believe, after careful study, that the organization which is now emerging *warrants our nation's membership*.

The Churches' Opportunity

We are urging our churches to prepare for special meetings, to be held prior to the Senate's debate, when congregations should express to their Senators their convictions about the matter. We believe that these messages should support treaty-ratification which will commit this country to responsible participation. The response of the local churches will be determined by their own conscientious decision.

This campaign, in common with similar efforts by other religious bodies, must be regarded as but one event in a continuing story of the efforts of the churches to speak effectively to the needs of mankind. There will continue to be new risks and responsibilities in America's foreign policies, for which we will have to be alert; and there are other tasks before us now, which have both domestic and world-wide importance, such as unsolved problems in race relations and economic security.

No longer can we seek an American Kingdom of God, apart from the rest of the world. Nor can we seek the Kingdom in the idealistic and utopian terms which have prevailed in recent years. We can, however, participate in God's Kingdom *nou*, by faithful and effective testimony to His sovereignty over all nations, races, and classes. It is in view of God's *present* sovereignty, against which we have vainly rebelled, that we feel called to our present task.

A Picture Story: Churches at Work for World Order

by RICHARD FAGLEY*

1. *Leaders have met to plan Christian strategy.* In 1940, the Federal Council of Churches set up a special Commission on a Just and Durable Peace under the chairmanship of John Foster Dulles. A number of denominations have taken similar action. In the struggle for adequate peace machinery, the churches have streamlined some of their own machinery.

For several years official church conventions have studied and issued statements of Christian purpose in the field of world order. Some, like the Disciples of Christ at Drake University last spring, have called special study conferences, devoted wholly to this subject. Two major Protestant conferences since Pearl Harbor have been held to clarify our objectives. The Delaware Conference in the spring of 1942 worked on the prerequisites of a just and durable peace. The Cleveland Conference held in January, 1945 brought together 481 men and women from many vocations and 34 communions, hammered out a unified world order program for American Protestantism during the critical period ahead. (Members of the Findings Committee below)



First row: Dr. Emory Ross, Mrs. Harper Sibley, John Foster Dulles, Dr. Elmer J. Arndt, Rev. Vernon Holloway, and Dr. O. Frederick Nolde. Second row: Rt. Rev. William Scarlett, Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam, Dr. John Rood Cunningham, Dr. Walter W. Van Kirk, Dr. Charles J. Turck, Miss Georgia Harkness, Rev. Ernest F. Tittle, and Dr. Luman J. Shafer.

*Richard Fagley is secretary of the Commission on a Just and Durable Peace of the Federal Council of Churches.



Left to Right: Harold A. Cockburn; H. J. Gezork, G. Bromley Oxnam, John Foster Dulles, Gordon A. Sisco, Timothy Tingfang Lew, A. K. Warren.

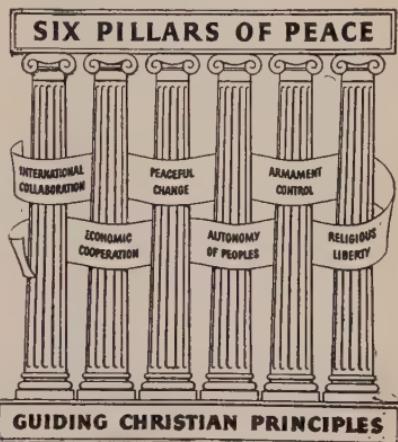
2. *International religious contacts have been maintained.* Despite restrictions imposed by war, American church leaders have been able to consult religious leaders abroad. The contacts have been few and slow. But there have been visits to and from England, China, Australia, and communications with leaders in Switzerland, and with some leaders in occupied Europe. The partial liberation of Europe made possible a recent meeting of World Council of Churches leaders in London. To develop a Christian world strategy, the World Council of Churches must be built up quickly as the headquarters of World Christianity. New airways and radio facilities must be fully used to make possible constant consultation among leaders, adequate understanding among church members, and common or parallel action by national Christian communities.

3. *Local groups have discussed peace issues.* The planning has not been all at the top. Bible classes, missionary societies, women's clubs, Service Men's Christian Leagues have held luncheon and evening discussions on the price of peace.



4. *Peace aims have been popularized.* To stimulate thought, leaders have simplified timely sections of church statements. Protestant leaders summarized Delaware Conference political propositions in "Six Pillars of Peace." Protestant, Catholic and Jewish leaders in October, 1943, summarized seven principles on which they agreed as the "Pattern for Peace." Some progress also has been made in utilizing methods of popular education—dramatic broadcasts, and pictorialized flyers and pamphlets on world order. In general, however, the churches have much to learn about the use of mass, secular opinion-moulding agencies.

5. *Public forums have been staged.* The Methodist Crusade for a New World Order reached over 200,000 people in 76 cities in January, 1944. The Christian Mission on World Order during November, 1943, brought speakers to interdenominational gatherings in some 100 cities across the country. During the past year civic mass meetings on the "Pattern for Peace" have been held in Syracuse, Toledo, San Antonio, Kansas City, and Los Angeles. Unfortunately, no comparable program has been developed for rural churches.



Methodist Crusade opens in Worcester, Mass.

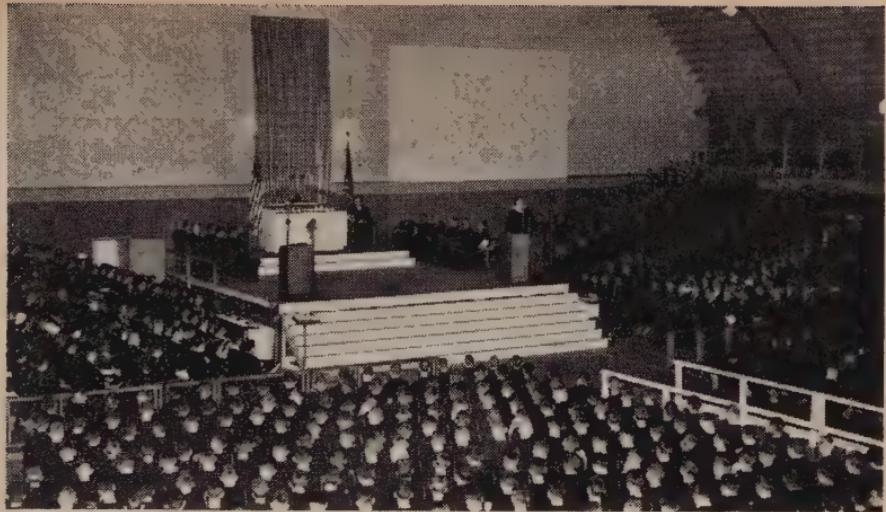


Victim of malnutrition. Little Stoyan came to an UNRRA refugee camp in the Middle East. Although he is three years old, he looks like a baby of one.

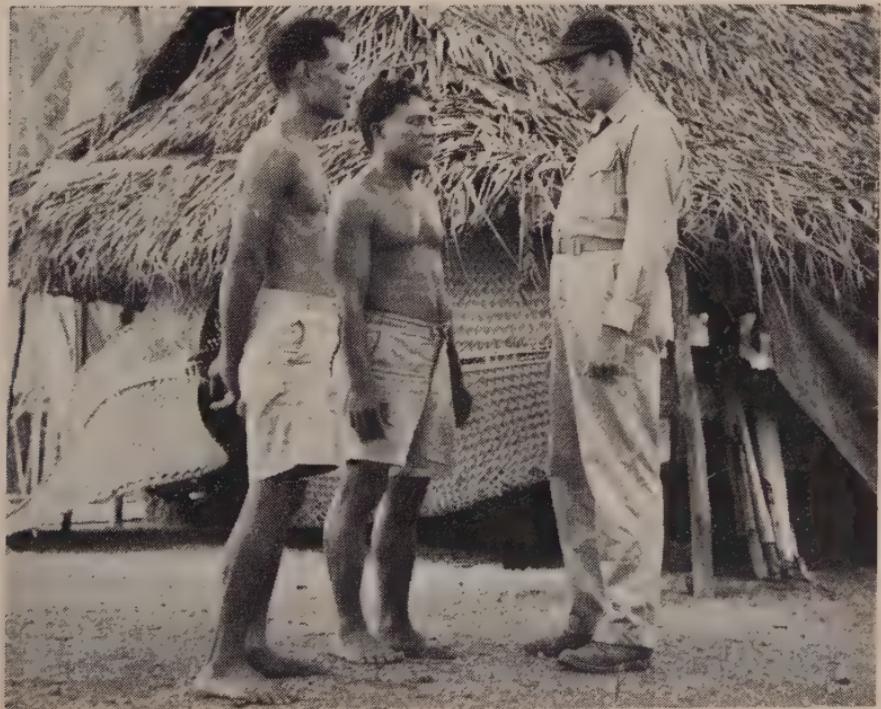
6. Peoples abroad are being helped through relief and missionary activities of the churches. Such efforts contribute both to world Christianity and world order. During the period 1940-43, Protestant churches in United States gave an estimated \$8,000,000 for emergency relief through the churches in devastated and underprivileged areas. But giving has been small compared with the need. British churchmen, one-eleventh of whose churches have been destroyed or damaged by bombs, are asking that their share of the American relief program be given to help meet the greater needs on the Continent, and are giving ten per cent of their own reconstruction funds.

MISSIONS PICTURE OF THE MONTH

Navy Chaplain Harold A. MacNeill discusses how voluntary contributions from a group of U.S. marines to native Christians of the Gilbert Islands will be used.



7. *Special occasions for prayers for all mankind* have been the World Day of Prayer, World-wide Communion Sunday (see worship service above at Sampson Naval Training Center), and World Order Sunday. A call for prayers on Sunday, April 22, and on Wednesday, April 25, for the United Nations Conference in San Francisco has been made.



WORLD ORDER COMPACT



THE SIGNING OF THE MAGNA CARTA

The Congregational Christian Compact
for World Order 1944

IN THE NAME OF GOD. AMEN

WE WHOSE names are underwritten, loyal members of the
Congregational Church of Dallas, Texas,
do solemnly and mutually, in the presence of God and one another
covenant and combine ourselves together

to work for a just and cooperative world order.

WE PRAY that our nation shall help to establish
an international organization for the better ordering of the
interdependent life of nations, the preservation of peace with justice,

and the furtherance of the general good of all peoples.

UNTO this great task we commit our walls and our ways.

IN WITNESS whereof we have hereunder subscribed our names

ANNO DOMINI MCMLXIV

W. Roy Johnson
George E. Lovre
John L. Martin
D. T. McElroy
Norman M. Muller
Bessie Frank Paisley
Mrs. Alice Parry
John P. Pease
John P. Powers
Mrs. George R. Scott
James T. Schmitz
John B. Shreve
Alice P. Smith
J. H. T. Haleck
Mrs. Leo S. Lovre
George E. Lovre
Mrs. H. J. Shmitz
Audrey Sett
Alice P. Shreve
Jackson Sundan
Admiral Stev
John Sundan
F. Hayes S. Bailey
Mrs. Margaret S. Curtis
For further signatures see the reverse side.

8. *Commitments and compacts have been made.*
Realizing that achievement of world order is a long uphill struggle, churches have stressed the commitment of members to a life-time task. Over 125,000 members of Congregational Christian Churches and of Unitarian Churches signed World Order Compacts in May and November, 1944. On World Community Day, last November, groups of women cooperating in the United Council of Church Women signed a similar pledge to work for a peace with justice and stability.

Signing the World Order Compact at the Dallas, Texas Central Congregational Church.



THE WASHINGTON REPORT



VOL. I, NO. 7

APRIL 1, 1945

PRELUDER TO SAN FRANCISCO

EASTER RECESS — AN OPPORTUNITY



Masthead (above) of *The Washington Report*, legislative newsletter of the Council for Social Action. President Roosevelt (below) addresses both houses of Congress with his report on the Yalta conference.

9. *Legislative action is being organized.* More and more churches are recognizing responsibilities in politics as part of their obligations for world order. The interfaith "Pattern for Peace" and the statement by the Episcopal General Convention played a prominent part during the important Senate debate on foreign policy in October, 1943. Last summer part of the Congregational Christian Post-War Aims and the "Pattern" were presented to the resolutions committees of party conventions. Congregationalists and Friends are now providing their members with a Washington legislative service as a regular function of their social action programs.

To make national religious organizations effective, local peace or social action committees must be set up. Every local church district, association, presbytery, synod, and council of churches should have a representative committee on world order or social action to stimulate a long-term educational program in local parishes, and to serve as a link between the local congregation and national headquarters on issues of immediate concern.

10. Letters are being written to Senators. Most church campaigns for world cooperation urged people to write to representatives in Congress, as part of their duty as Christian citizens. Tens of thousands of letters have already been sent to Senators by Methodists, Northern and Southern Baptists, Presbyterians, Congregationalists and others during their respective campaigns. Hundreds of thousands of letters will likely be written when the issue of American participation in the international organization agreed upon at San Francisco is before the Senate.



Abe Murdock, senator from Utah, reads his morning mail.



11. Parents need aid in training children for good citizenship. Training for world citizenship should begin in the home, when children are young. This means that parents need to be trained in simple, effective methods of Christian education.



Coast Guardsmen and troops, heading for war, attend services of worship on the afterdeck of a Coast Guard-manned assault transport. Grouped about a gun battery they hear the sermon of Coast Guard Chaplain William E. Brooks, Jr. (left foreground).

12. Service men and women can help win the peace as well as the war. To fulfill their responsibilities they need good literature on problems of world order in the light of Christian ideals. Denominational agencies, the Service Men's Christian League, and the Y.M.C.A. have made some material available to service men through chaplains and U.S.O. centers. But such material should be greatly increased and closely adapted to the returning veteran's interests and needs.

What I Propose to Preach While the Senate Deliberates

by HERMAN F. REISSIG*



It is, let us say, the last Sunday in June, 1945. The international security conference which has been meeting in San Francisco has completed its work. The President has forwarded to the Senate a copy of the treaty, with the recommendation that it be enacted. The great debate begins, not only in the Senate but in every newspaper, over every radio station, and on every platform and street corner in the United States. To bind our country by solemn treaty to international consultation and action or to make one more effort to go it alone—that is the question. For the second time in twenty-five years the time of the great decision is upon us.

The constitution of the new organization is in many respects a disappointment. (So much one may confidently predict.) It contains, let us say, no international bill of rights, no satisfactory provision for the emancipation of colonial peoples. It is "scandalously naked of principles." Liberals and idealists (no slur is intended) are saying they cannot accept it. They propose improvements without whose adoption they will campaign against it. Many are saying, "The proposal falls so far short of being enough as to make it a positive evil. We must have no part in this thing!"

On the other side are powerful persons and organizations crying, "It is too much! Our sovereignty would be compromised. We would become the pawns of European power politics.

*Herman F. Reissig is Minister of the First Union Church in Quincy, Illinois.

Away with it!" Huge sums of money are being spent to defeat the treaty. "America First" has come to life again. Newspapers misrepresent and radio speakers confuse. Many of us had been beguiled into believing that the lesson has been learned, that isolationism is dead. We have had a rude awakening. We have discovered that the last-ditch haters of everything foreign can put up more fight than we had supposed. The treaty is in danger.

Machinery Is Not Enough

But more than this. The possibility is not only that we may vote "No," or vote to go in with reservations that constitute a "No." We might go in by such a slim margin of votes in the Senate and with so little understanding and faith among the people that an organization which needs overwhelming moral support and intelligent understanding is robbed of a chance to live. It is not enough to ensure a two-thirds affirmative vote in the Senate, making it possible to appoint representatives and set up the machinery. Far from enough! The new organization must be backed by an intelligent public opinion.

So, the sermon on that last Sunday of June (or whatever Sunday it may be) would better be soaked in prayer. By all his revulsion against war, his memory of slain men, his passion for peace, his conviction that this is one world, let the preacher vow that, so far as it lies in him and in the people whom he can reach, the United States will throw in its lot with the other nations in the new attempt, however halting, to create world security. What shall the preacher say? Something like this I think I shall say, beginning with Paul's great word, "Bear ye one another's burdens, and so fulfil the law of Christ."

There Are Things To Say

First, no one will deny that the issues of war and peace concern the Christian Church. (It might be well to point out again what war does to our souls as well as to our bodies, that it destroys, or at least deeply injures, everything Christians stand for.) But we cannot be content with announcing the

goal and leaving the methods to others, with preaching principles while leaving their practical application to others. The sincerity of our hatred of war and our desire for justice and goodwill are now to be tested by our support of concrete methods of keeping the peace.

Second, if we wait until an organization is proposed which embodies all our best conceptions of what such an organization ought to be we ask the impossible and fly in the face of all the lessons of history. The American Constitution was at first a highly defective document and many had deep misgivings concerning it. Alexander Hamilton walked out of the Constitutional Convention because the constitution was not good enough. He was right in his opinion but not in his action. The first ten amendments (the Bill of Rights) could not have been added if there had been nothing to add them to. It is not true that anything is better than nothing. It is true in this situation. The way to begin is to begin.

Third, let us be on guard against national self-righteousness. If we are afraid of Russia, Britain, Europe, is there nothing in our American life we need to be afraid of? Is it not possible, for example, that the very reason we may give for staying out, namely, our high ethical and political standards, may be a rationalization of pride and a fear of assuming responsibility—sins that are fully as serious as any we can name in the other nations? If it be true that we cannot assume responsibility for every situation and problem around the world, our nation is nevertheless, in a profoundly religious sense, involved in every need, every sin, every pain that men have to carry. "Bear ye one another's burdens and so fulfil the law of Christ."

There Are Things To Do

Fourth, the sermon should end with an urgent call to decision and action, with practical suggestions for a meeting to register our opinions in the U.S. Senate. Our representatives cannot hear what we say in our homes, but they can read our

letters, and they can note what we write in the local papers, what meetings are held and what positions are taken. The words spoken from the pulpit will presuppose that the people of our Church have discussed the issues in forums, meetings, and adult classes, and have been receiving and using the materials prepared by the C.S.A. and the Federal Council of Churches. Definite announcement should be made of the Church "Town Meeting" or congregational meeting to decide upon suitable individual action for urging Senate ratification and to draw up the concensus of opinion in a "mind of the meeting" telegram which may be sent to the Senators. Action includes plans for reaching those who do not attend Church, non-Church groups, and for getting community response. It is a people's peace and all the people should share in the decision.

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CHART OF OUTSTANDING INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCES OF WORLD WAR II

PLACE	TIME	PRINCIPAL DECISIONS
ATLANTIC OCEAN	August, 1941	Atlantic Charter: statement of general principles and goals of the war and the peace, by Roosevelt and Churchill. (Signed later by 38 nations.)
HOT SPRINGS, VA.	June, 1943	United Nations Food and Agriculture Conference: planned advisory agency for research, recommendations, and cooperation on problems of food, nutrition, and agriculture. Sought improvement of production and distribution of food and agriculture, to raise living standards. NEEDS APPROVAL BY 20 NATIONS. AWAITS U.S. ACTION.
MOSCOW	October, 1943	U.S., Russian, British, and Chinese representatives pledge unity in war, enforcement of peace terms, and cooperation with other nations for an international security organization.
ATLANTIC CITY	November, 1943	First session of United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration: for provision of basic relief and service to meet immediate distress of nations freed from Axis.
CAIRO	November, 1943	Roosevelt, Churchill, Gen. Chiang; military plans and eventual peace terms to be enforced against Japan.
TEHERAN	November, 1943	Roosevelt, Churchill, Stalin: pre-invasion military plans, reaffirmation of joint responsibility for enduring peace and justice.
PHILADELPHIA	May, 1944	26th Session of International Labor Organization: government, employer, and labor representatives from 44 nations made recommendations on international policies and goals for postwar employment, public works, and social security.
BRETTON WOODS, N.H.	July, 1944	United Nations experts determine proposals for an International Bank (to guarantee loans for increased production in war-torn and under-developed countries) and a Monetary Fund (to stabilize monies and trading conditions). AWAIT ACTION BY U.S. CONGRESS

DUMBARTON OAKS ESTATE, WASHINGTON, D.C.

U.S., British, Russian, Chinese delegations achieve incomplete agreements on proposals for a United Nations Organization for attainment of peace and security; an Assembly for representative discussion, with an Economic and Social Council to foster cooperation; a Security Council to enforce settlement of disputes; an International Court of Justice; a Secretariat for research and administration.

CHICAGO
August-
October, 1944

International Civil Aviation Conference: proposed international policies and "freedoms" of air navigation (rights of passage, landing, pickup of passengers and freight). An advisory council to deal with air transport matters. AWAITS APPROVAL OF 26 SIGNATORY GOVERNMENTS, INCLUDING U.S.

YALTA
February, 1945

"Crimean Conference" of Roosevelt, Churchill, Stalin. Military plans for defeat and control of Germany and for liberation of Europe. Compromise solution on Polish boundaries, and a provisional Polish government. Agreed to call United Nations Conference on April 25, for preparation of new international organization as proposed at Dumbarton Oaks. Added to former proposals the provision that a big power, if party to a dispute, cannot vote in a Security Council decision regarding investigation (though it retains veto power in a decision involving enforcement).

MEXICO CITY
February-
March, 1945

Conference of American Republics. Provision of American regional security system; for collective action against any nation which threatens an American state. (For this to be effective after the present war, must be ratified by U.S. Senate.) U.S. delegation suggested economic policies to aid Latin American living standards, industries, and trade. (Action, however, depends on U.S. Congress.) Criticism of Dumbarton Oaks included request for permanent Latin American representation on Security Council.

SAN FRANCISCO
April 25, 1945

United Nations Conference on World Security. 39 nations invited by U.S., Britain, Russia and China to determine Charter of new United Nations Organization for security and peace, using Dumbarton Oaks and Yalta agreement as basis of discussion. (LATER, U.S. SENATE MUST APPROVE BY TWO-THIRDS MAJORITY VOTE.)

Vernon H. Holloway



Make Us Worthy Citizens

By DOUGLAS HORTON

*A*lmighty God, who hast made of one blood all nations of men to dwell on the face of the earth, we pray for the United States of America, that it may be given grace and strength to take its part in the better ordering of the life of nations, the preservation of peace with justice, and the furtherance of the general good of all peoples;

*W*e pray for the Senate of the United States, now assembled, that Thou wilt impart to its members vision to see and courage to meet the new opportunities for international fellowship made available in the Security Organization of the United Nations;

*A*nd we pray for ourselves, that Thou wilt deepen our roots in righteousness and make us worthy citizens of the one world in which we live, through the love and power of the Prince of Peace, even Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

*A Prayer for Public and
Private Worship between
April 25 and September 1.*